Tashkent

from those passing between the gardens and fields outside the circular walls, since the latter are enclosed in walls exactly like those around the dwellings within the town. Therefore, upon entering a strange town the only way to tell whether one is still among the fields and gardens, or already between the rows of houses, is on the basis of whether one has passed through the town gate. In all Central Asian towns the streets are crooked, and continue in a perpetual zigzag, the natives have no notion of a regular arrangement of rows of streets, and preliminary plans in the erection of houses. Only the main streets of Tashkent, which /171/ lead from the bazaar to the outlying districts have a semblance of regularity, although they also possess numerous bends and turns. 363 351 361

The terrible monotony of the streets in Sart Tashkent is only broken here and there by a mosque or 'medrese' /religious school/, by isolated tombs which are found in the middle of the town along the roads, by the rising or downward slope of the ground, and by the many streams, sometimes flowing in deep ravines, which cut across the entire town in all directions. In this respect Tashkent makes a much better impression, in spite of everything, than /Figure 61. Caption: Street scene in Bukhara (from a photograph by G. Merzbacher)/ most of the other towns of Turkestan, most of which lie in more or less level terrain. 361 p.199

Concerning the traffic in the streets of Tashkent, this differs greatly in different parts of the town. In the side streets one sees only isolated riders or strollers; the main streets leading to the bazaar, especially on market days, are filled all day long with endless lines of camel, horse and donkey caravans, wagons, and riders of horses, donkeys and camels, through which it is often difficult to make one's way, even with the assiduous use of the horsewhip. This means is not used only by the Russians, but also and even more widely by the natives /172/ themselves, for in Turkestan everyone who is prominent, either through rank or wealth, considers himself entitled to enforce his precedence, by the 'ultima ratio' of the 'nagaika,' /whip/ over less fortunate creatures, while the victims of this treatment consider it perfectly in order and use it themselves against those still lower in rank. Yielding is considered a sign of weakness by the Central Asians, and there is no better way of gaining their respect than a show of arrogance and the use of brute force. The Russians, therefore, are born, as it were, to the rule of the Central Asians. 363 361 [554]

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[701]

II. Military Officers

1. Atalyk or Commander in Chief.
2. Parmanachi or General
3. Dacha or Colonel.
4. Min-Bashi or Commander of 1,000 men.
5. Panzat-Bashi or Commander of 500 men.
6. Yus-Bashi or Captain.

/179/ /Figure 63, p. 26a. Caption: The highest dignitaries of Bukhara; Right below, the Commander in Chief of the Troops (after a photograph by G. Merzbacher)./

/180/ In addition to the functionaries of the highest rank, there are also countless multitudes of lower court officials; astrologists, scribes, policemen, cooks, grooms, dancers, comedians, etc., whose primary task is to loaf around all day about the court in the capital, and in the event of a festive reception, to clothe themselves in gold brocade, and to line up on both sides with staffs of office in their hands, so they may enhance the reputation of their lord by their number and the richness of
554 their clothing. For in Turkestan the rank and authority of a man is measured only by the number of his servants. For this reason there is no one in Turkestan who would not consider it necessary to surround himself with a suite of individuals of still lower rank, no matter how low a rank he might hold in society. In Tashkent I once engaged as a stableboy a ten year old Sart lad whom I had picked up off the street, half starved and in rags. But when I once sent him to the bazaar to fetch five pounds of sugar, he appeared attended by two other streetlads, each carrying a package of sugar for him, for as an employee of a tyura he considered it beneath his dignity to carry the packages himself.

For these reasons it is impossible in Turkestan for a person of high place to travel without a disproportionately large crowd of attendants. For the interpreter, the servants, guides and grooms whom one hires consier it unavoidably necessary to take along their own grooms for their use and comfort and to add to their prestige, and these in turn, whenever possible, engage stableboys, in order to make as great a parade as possible, and so one finally has a train of firty or more people with even more horses to drag along, feed and house.

634 The courts of the various begs (Figure 64, p. 27a) are on a small scale the same as the court of the khan is on a grand scale, and they have an official hierarchy which though less numerous is similar to that

643 again or even have him executed for no reason at all. Most of the
554 influential figures and high dignitaries at the courts of the khans make many changes in the course of their careers as a result of this and moreover even the khans themselves are not always immune. The former envoy of Kokand, Mirza Hakim, who for the betrayal of his fatherland and his Khan later received the title of a Russian state counsellor, had earlier been a shopkeeper. The Khan of Khiva, Kulman, was promoted to this position as a result of a conspiracy of day laboters. The former ruler of Kashgar, Yakub Beg, rose from the dregs of the population, having been in his youth a 'batsha', or 'public dancer.' The last Khan of Kokand, Khudoyar, after his first dethronement in Dzhizak, established himself as a shopkeeper, and acquired such a fancy for business that he continued with it after he regained the throne, and declared a large part of the booths of the bazaar of Kokand to be his property. Indeed he did not consider it beneath his dignity to keep bands of musicians, as well as leaders of bears and monkeys, which he ordered led about the fairs on his account, and had them give concerts in private houses, uninvited.

565 Since the post of honor of the father, the bestowal of which unfortunately depended upon the whim of the ruler, was only rarely passed on to his son, the children of high-placed officials often enjoyed no more education than the children of ordinary townsmen and ran around with them barefoot and half-naked in the streets. During my stay of several weeks in Baysun in 1886, where I was the guest of the beg or governor there, the sons of the beg came to my court every day to consume the leftovers of my dinner in the company of my servants and cossacks. To see a former beg or court official or his sons working as dealers in old clothes, carters or even day laborers is not at all unusual.

1043 One can see from the following case how uncertain and in-
558 constant the favor of a khan is. During my first trip to Bukhara, a Bukharan who ranked as the best chess-player was staying with the former Emir of Bukhara, Muzafar al-Din, a chess-player who was as passionate a player as he was mediocre. The chess-player was held in great esteem and was overwhelmed by the Emir with /176/ honors and riches. Upon a later visit I met this favorite in a group of ragged vagabonds who were pushing their way into our quarter with the hope of obtaining some of the tidbits from our table which are usually found when guests are being entertained. When I inquired

II. Military Officers

644 [701]

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p. 26a

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p. 27a

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291 p. 29

Chalat of Bokhara with striped pattern.

cotton trousers (see ill. page 1441), the material of which is rather coarsely woven, and is neither bleached nor dyed. The name given to this material is "bes". The trousers are secured by an attractively worked band, which is drawn through the upper seam, and tied round the waist. The upper part of the body is covered with a blouse cut in the manner of a shirt. It is also of cotton, and is girded round the waist with a diagonally folded square of cloth. This cloth is often prettily embroidered or decorated with regular ornaments in the block-printing style (see ill. page 1442). Before beginning his devotions the wearer unties it, and spreads it out before him, thus making it serve as a prayer-mat. These garments form the customary dress of the labourers, artisans, and of the poorer classes generally. Merchants, priests, and all men of wealth and rank wear as an additional item of dress the chalat, which is also put on by poorer people on festive occasions (see ill. page 1442).

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The word "chalat" signifies a rich garment of honour of the kind traditionally bestowed by Oriental princes as a badge of distinction. Hermann Vámbéry, who in the second half of the nineteenth century travelled in Central Asia under the disguise of a dervish, reports that in Khiva he met a high official sorting chalats which were intended as rewards for soldiers, and the value of which was graded according to the number of enemies' heads

[See p 25 -- Analyst]
[See " 116, p 28 -- Analyst]

291 which each man had brought home from the [554] war. The chalat as the usual outer garment is known in the vernacular as "chapan". It is cut like an overcoat, reaches to the ankles, and has very long sleeves, into which the wearer [834] can withdraw his hands in order to comply with the Mohammedan law that no part of the body should be uncovered (see ill. below).

It is the chalat which gives the crowds in the cities of Turkestan their colourful appearance. When on the great Mohammedan feast-days the crowds of the faithful in their many-coloured chalats stand in front of the glittering mosques, when they kneel or throw themselves on the ground to pray, the scene is one which can probably be parallelled nowhere in 291 Europe or in the East. The patterns and colours of the chalats are of an extraordinary 294 variety, and their edges are trimmed with narrow borders of embroidered or woven material from which small tassels are suspended at regular intervals. Though the materials of the costly gold-brocaded garments worn by the very rich and the cheap printed cottons common to the poorest classes were of Russian manufacture, the greater part of the chalat fabrics were and still are characteristic products of the weavers and dyers of Turkestan. These fabrics are gaily striped, pattern-

Men of Bokhara in striped chalats and white turbans.

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T. 871 555 [191] S.U. 871 563 555 of the teaching staffs, including headmasters, have no proper training in methods of tuition and quite frequently not even a secondary school training. Finally, higher demands are made upon a young Uzbek, Kirghiz or Kazakh than upon a young Russian who wishes to engage in a scientific or technical career. The former must have a complete command of both his own and the Russian language and culture when trying for a higher post, whereas for the Russian the knowledge of his mother tongue is sufficient. A knowledge, however slight, of another language is a valuable asset, but not a condition, for his successful career. Many gifted Central Asiatics do not qualify for higher technical education because of their insufficient knowledge of Russian. Without a perfect knowledge of Russian, the young Central Asiatic is debarred from qualifying for attendance not only at higher educational institutes in Moscow and Leningrad, but even at some of the better medical and technical high schools in his own republic where Russian still remains the language of teaching, despite all the cultural progress made by the Central Asiatic peoples under the Soviet régime. The recognition of the Russians as the 'elder brother' also implies the recognition of certain privileges for them. Thus the 'Russian brother' occupies many important key positions in all Central Asiatic Republics, he dominates the local ministries for internal affairs and state security, he provides the personnel for the office of the local public prosecutor, he is in charge of state banking and economic planning. Any criticism of this Russian colonization is out of the question since it would contradict the basic rules of 'family affection'.

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T. [517] The Russians living in the various Central Asiatic Republics are even entitled to join hands for common cultural tasks while the Central Asiatic peoples, as we have seen, are kept apart as much as possible. Thus in May 1948, a conference of Russian writers of Central Asia met in Tashkent. The conference dealt amongst other things with the help which Russian authors were to give to Russian theatres throughout Central Asia.[10]

Having stressed in principle the paramount importance of the Russian factor in Soviet Central Asia, we can now discuss the problems of the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics in detail. We start with Kazakhstan, which, from a purely geographical point of view, is only partly situated in Central Asia, but which politically and ethnographically is inseparably linked with the other four Central Asiatic Republics.

Ka. 101

I. KAZAKHSTAN

Kazakhstan covers a territory of over 1,000,000 square miles and stretches from the Volga delta to the Chinese border. It is the mineral storehouse of the Soviet Union. It ranks first in the world for its

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